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ABSTRACT

This linguistic analysis notes that the model clitic in the Mayan language Tojolabal cliticizes to the first element of the clause. Evidentiality particles indicate the speaker's commitment to the truth of the statement, and temporal/aspectual particles indicate expectability, precedence, and durativeness. They function not only to place the speaker in relation to the time and truth of what is said, but also aid in discourse cohesion. The reportative particle "b'i" occurs in foreground clauses in stories. Contains 6 references. (Author/LB)

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PARTICLES IN TOJOLABAL MAYAN DISCOURSE

Jill Brody

Abstract: Modal clitic in Tojolabal Mayan cliticize to the first element of the clause. Evidentiality particles indicate the speaker's commitment to the truth of the statement, and temporal/aspectual particles indicate expectability, precedence and durativeness. They function not only to place the speaker in relation to the time and truth of what is said, but also aid in discourse cohesion. The reportative particle b'i occurs in foreground clauses in stories.

0. Introduction

Like other Mayan languages (e.g., Mam (England) and Tzutujil (Dayley), and others (DuBois)), Tojolabal has a set of modal particles (Furbee 1976). In Tojolabal, these optionally cliticize to the first non-fronted element of clauses, usually the verb (1), a temporal marker (2), or an adverbial (3) (see Steele 1977 on sentence-second position).

(1)[1] ay-0 kristiano / 0-b'oy-ow-0-e7=ta ja b'a
BE-3a PEOPLE com-DIG-tvm-3a-3epl=already det loc

y-oj niwan na7itz=i.
3e-INTERIOR BIG HOUSE=npt
'There are people who have already dug inside the big house.'

(2) pes ti=b'i 0-s-le7-aw-0 modo jastal oj
well then=rpt com-3e-SEEK-tvm-3a WAY how fut

s-k'ul-uk-0 b'a y-ojol s-lukum ja ayin=i.
3e-DO-3a loc 3e-INTERIOR 3e-STOMACH det ALLIGATOR=npt
'Well then (it is said) he looked for how to do it from inside the alligator.'

(3) pwes jach=b'i 0-y-al-aw-0--kan ja winik ma7
well THUIS=rpt com-3e-SAY-tvm-3a--STAY det MAN rel

jel x-ok'-0 ja y-ora cham-0 ja s-che7um=i.
VERY inc-CRY-3a det 3e-TIME DIE-3a det 3e-WIFE=npt
'Well, thus (it is said) is what was told by the man who cried so much when his wife died.'

These particles represent values along various modal, temporal, and aspectual continua, including evidentiality, realis/irrealis, expectability, sequence, durativeness, and perfectivity. The intersection of these continua forms a range of operation for these particles that, among other things, allows orientation of the

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speaker's attitudes toward what is being said, permits subtle modifications of orientation in time, and, on the discourse level, also expresses coherence relations between propositions.

1. The Particles

The modal clitic particles of Tojolabal are listed in (4). There are other particles, but they pattern differently, and I will not discuss them here. The modal clitic particles fall into two general categories: evidentiality particles, and temporal/aspectual particles. There is some overlap of modality features between these two categories, but there are several reasons to maintain their distinctiveness, as will be discussed.

(4) Modal Clitic Particles

temporal/aspectual particles		evidentiality particles	
xa	now	ni	emphatic
ta	already	b'i	reportative
to	still	k'a	conditional
xta	durative	ma/ama	dubitative, question
cha/cho	repetitive		

Modal particles may occur in combinations, with the following restrictions: 1) that there be only two in the sequence, 2) that the two particles be different, and 3) that the second particle be a) one of the particles of evidentiality or b) cha/cho. Thus the temporal/aspectual particles are closer to the verbal complex than are the evidentiality particles. Generally, sequencing involves one temporal and one evidential particle. cha/cho is the only temporal/aspectual particle that can co-occur with all the other temporal particles. ni=b'i is the only combination of evidentiality particles that occurs with any frequency, and it is restricted to particular contexts. The only other combination of evidentiality particles is in the highly emphatic affirmative statement in (5).

(5) meran-0=ni=k'a=a.
TRUE-3a=emp=con=clt
'It is definitely really true.'

2. Continuum of Evidentiality

The evidentiality particles form an array along the range of degree of responsibility taken for the veracity of the statement to which they are attached.

The use of ni indicates the speaker's emphatic affirmation of the truthfulness of the assertion, often in response to doubt expressed about the statement. Thus, the question in (6) can be responded to appropriately using ni.

(6) Q: haw-e7n=ama?
2e-SELF=dub
'Is/was it you?'

A: k-e7n=ni=a.
1e-SELF=emp=clt
'It is/was I.'

ni is the only modal particle that is obligatorily followed by the clause terminal particle =a, at the end of the clause.[2]

The use of the reportative particle b'i entails a restriction of the speaker's full commitment to the veracity of the statement. Its use indicates that the speaker has heard what is being stated, but has not personally witnessed it. While this particle occasionally occurs in conversation, the highest frequency context of its use is in the telling of traditional folktales, where related events are marked by the reportative as not having been experienced directly. Many examples of the use of b'i appear in the text segment in the appendix. The story-teller uses b'i to withdraw from claiming the highest degree of identification with the statement, placing that responsibility upon those from whom he has heard the tale, or on the ancestors, or perhaps even upon the community as a whole. The truth of the statement to which the reportative is attached is not doubted; it is simply not directly claimed, and is attributed to another authority.

A much further removal from taking direct responsibility is respresented by the use of the conditional k'a. The veracity of the statement to which k'a is attached is not denied or even questioned, but neither is it claimed. The conditional places the statement in the realm of the hypothetical and irrealis. Thus in a quoted conversation between a merchant and a customer in the market we have an example of the conditional.

(7) pero puro=k'a tza7ub'al wa-x-k-a7--aw-i7-0
BUT ONLY=con CHOSEN pro-inc-1e-GIVE--2e-TAKE-3a

ti oj kan-uk-0=a ja b'a ala-yihik=xa=i.
then fut REMAIN-sbj-3a=clt det loc dim-RIPE=now=npt
'But if I give it to you picked over, then only the little ripe ones will remain.'

A hypothetical situation is outlined, where the truth of the statement is conditional, dependent upon the circumstances described holding. k'a is typically found in conditional clauses, but see (5) above.

The dubitative particle ma/ama explicitly questions the truth of the statement to which it is cliticized. The particle forms yes/no questions; these are answered not with equivalents of 'yes' and 'no', but by affirmed or negated predicates, as in (8); also, see (6) above.

(8) Q: ay-0=ma kajpe?
BE-3a=dub COFFEE
'Is there (any) coffee?'

A: meyuk (mi-ay-uk-0).
(neg-BE-subj-3a)
'No.'

Q: oj=ma waj-an?
fut=dub EAT-2a
'Will you eat?'

A: oj=o.
fut=futerm
'Yes.'

The four modal clitic particles of evidentiality span the range of responsibility taken for the veracity of the statement from emphatically affirming it (ni), to placing the authority in respected others (b'i), to the conditional with truth dependent on the interpretation of the clause containing (k'a), to questioning the truth (ma/ama). Denial might logically be expected to participate in this continuum, but negation is not handled through the use of clitic particles in Tojolabal. The continuum of evidentiality is generally divided into two levels of commitment: realis (ni and b'i) vs. irrealis (k'a and ma/ama). It is worthy of note that the nature of the speaker's relationship to the truth forms a part of many (though not all) statements. While the use of b'i characterizes folk tales, the other clitics are not confined to any particular genre. In summary, the use of the modal clitic particles of evidentiality orients the statement in relation to the speaker's commitment to its veracity.

3. Continuum of Temporal/Aspectual/Modal Orientation

The modal clitic particles of temporal orientation are arrayed along intersecting aspectual, temporal, and modal continua. The temporal range is defined by precedence, the aspectual by durativeness, and the modal range is defined by the level of expectability that the action in the statement has for the speaker.

Taking the temporal feature first, three of the temporal orientation particles subdivide the tense/aspect range obligatorily indicated on the verb, as shown in (9).

(9)

	completive	incompletive	future	sequence (ti)
xa		↕	↕	↕
ta	↕			
to	↕			

The particle to roughly translates as 'still', as shown in (10).

(10) ay-0=to kajpe.
BE-3a=still COFFEE
'There is still coffee.'

Its use indicates a continuation from the past through the present.

The particle ta roughly translates as 'already', and indictes an action that has taken place previously, as in (11).

(11) 0-waj-0=ta.
com-GO-3a=already
'He/she already went.'

The particle xa means 'now', and is used to underscore the currency of the action, as in (12).

(12) ay-0=xa kajpe.
BE-3a=now COFFEE
'There is coffee now.'

In addition to indicating currency, the use of xa entails the sequentiality of the action. xa marks what normally, naturally, and consequently falls next in sequence. An example of this use of xa appears in sentence #3 in the text in the appendix; the sequence of actions is that 1) the people went into the caves, and then 2) when they came out they had tails. Another example appears in sentence #10 in the appendix; here the sequence of actions is 1) the last creation was killed with water, but 2) the next will be killed with fire. The sequentiality of xa is emphasized when it cliticizes to the introductory particle ti 'then', as in (13). ti=xa commonly introduces sequential events. Another sequential use of xa is in the topicalization construction, shown in (14), where it cliticized to the determiner ja to indicate change of topic in discourse (Brody in press).

(13) ti=xa wa-x-och--s-le7-0-e7
then=now pro-inc-BEGIN--3e-SEEK-3a-3epl

ja tak'in=a.
det MONEY=clt
'Then they begin to look for the money.'

(14) ha=xa ma7 wa-x-s-chon-ow-0 ti
det=now rel pro-inc-3e-SELL-tvm-3a then

wa-x-y-al-aw-0...
pro-inc-3e-SAY-3a
'As for the one who sells, then she says...'

Thus, on a time scale, the temporal orientation particles move from the past (ta) to the next in sequence (xa), to the ongoing (to). By contrast with xa, then, the particles to and ta indicte events that are out of the normal sequence, in that they continued beyond the expected time (to) or began earlier than expected (ta).

As aspectual duratives, the particles cha/cho and xta cross-cut the temporal sequencing. As mentioned above, cha/cho has more freedom of placement than the rest of the particles in the set. In order to distinguish between cha/cho and xta, and to explain the details of the operation of the temporal orientation particles in relation to tense/aspect, it is necessary to understand their modal nature. They also participate in the continuum of speaker's expectation, that is, the degree of expectability that the statement represents for the speaker. The modal continuum of expectability defines a range from action that is expectable or neutral in expectation for the speaker to action that is surprising to the speaker or out of sequence in the normally expected course of events. The feature of expectability hence contributes a modal value to actions occurring in the temporal and aspectual arenas.

To return to the durative particles, cha/cho indicates that the repeated action was either expected or neutral in relation to expectation, as in #18 in the text sequence in the appendix. xta indicates an action that was repeated unexpectedly or one that occurs with an unexpected intensity. In (15), we see xta used forcefully in the course of a quoted bargaining transaction in the market. When asked to sell her commodity for a lower price, the vendor replies that she won't, because the work to grow the crop is very difficult.

(15)

a. x-s-k'an-aw-0=xta ta mi x-el-0 a-gana.
inc-3e-WANT-tvm-3a=dur if neg inc-EXIT-3a 2e-WILL
'It really requires that you don't get discouraged.'

b. x-s-k'an-aw-0=xta mi x-yajb'-iy-0
inc-3a-WANT-tvm-3a=xta neg inc-HURT-ivm-3a

ja-pat-ik.
2e-BACK-ndr
'It really requires that one's back not get hurt.'

For the temporal/aspectual particles xa, ta, and to, the features of expectability and sequencing distinguish xa as indicative of normal current action or action proceding in sequence from ta and to, which both mark the action as out of sequence and unexpected. The chart in (16) distinguishes all the modal clitic particles according to the tense-aspect-modality features discussed.

16. Tense-aspect-modality features

	cha	xta	xa	ta	to	ni	b'i	k'a	ma
evidentiality (1 high, 4 low)						1	2	3	4
realis						+	+	-	-
expectability (sequentiality)	+	-	+	-	-	-			
precedence (perfectivity)			-	+	-				
durativeness	+	-	-	-	+				

Since the evidentiality particles for the most part map different features than do the temporal/aspectual particles, it would seem that there are two separate sets of particles. There is also, however, some overlap of features. The emphatic affirmative evidential ni has a counter-to-expectation element to it. This is especially seen in one context where ni is commonly found: the emphatic assertion of a statement in response to its having been questioned, as in (5), (6) and (8) above. It should be noted, however, that ma/ama does not imply question with the expectation of either a negative or a positive answer. The counter-to-expectation feature of ni is what allows it to co-occur with the reportative b'i in contexts like sentence #6 in the text in the appendix, where the clause that follows the one beginning with a7nima 'even though' contains both the reportative and the emphatic ni, marking the surprising nature of the outcome. Sentences #5 and #18 in the text in the appendix shows a similar example.

4. Discourse: fourground and background

In addition to coding tense-aspect and modality, both sets of particles also participate in coding the discourse coherence relations of propositions in sequence. In narrative, the particles are associated with foreground clauses, which relate the main points and events of the story. Background clauses, by contrast, contain asides and other information the speaker is offering that is not central to the story. This pattern is clearest in the most stylized form of Tojolabal narrative, the folk tale. The reportative particle b'i carries the heaviest foreground load, though the other particles appear as well. In the segment from a Tojolabal version of the creation in the appendix, the particles are underlined, and the foregrounded clauses they are associated with are indicated. Background information may be repeated background, as in sentences #1, #2, #5, #11, or asides as in #8, #13, #14.

5. Conclusion

It is not contrary to general linguistic expectation that the features of tense, aspect, and mode be interactive, or that the same particles code discourse cohesiveness as well. Additionally, on a purely speculative note, it seems to me to be fitting that in the historical Mayan context of obsession with time on the level of the calendar, and the Mayan subjectivization of time through the

auguries of the days, that the temporal and aspectual range be closely intertwined with the modal and evaluatory range.

APPENDIX Text Segment from Creation Story

1. ja wego wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiyano jumasa ja
   det now pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE ALL det

b'a lame it=i ke ja chante7 jumasa b'a witz
det GENERATION THIS=npt rel det ANIMAL ALL loc FOREST

ja wego puro-0=b'i kristiyano ja najate7.
det now ALL-3a=rpt PEOPLE det LONG AGO
'Now all the people in this generation say that all the animals in the forest now (it is said) were people long ago.'

2. wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiyano jumasa ja wego ke
   pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE ALL det now rel

ja ma7-tik b'ajtan winik ja s-b'aj najate7
det rel-pl FIRST MAN det 3e-SELF LONG AGO

0-ch'ak=b'i--och-uk-e7 k'e7en ja y-ora 0-ch'ak-0
com-FINISH=rpt--ENTER-sbj-3apl CAVE det 3e-TIME com-FINISH-3a

ja satk'inal=i.
det WORLD=npt
'All the people now say that those who were the first men long ago all went into caves when the world was destroyed.'

3. ja7=b'i y-uj ja yajni 0-waj--el-uk-e7=i
   cl-rpt 3e-relN det when com-GO--EXIT-sbj-3apl-npt

ay-0=xa=b'i s-nej-e7 0-el-iy-e7--k'e7n
BE-3a=now=rpt 3e-TAIL-3pl com-EXIT-ivm-3a-1--UPWARD

ja b'a y-oj k'e7en=i.
det loc 3e-INTERIOR CAVE=npt
'(It is said) that it is for this reason when they went out (it is said) they now had tails (when) they came up out of the inside of the cave.'

4. i tuktukil=b'i chante7 0-el-iy-e7--k'e7n=i
   and DIFFERENT=rpt ANIMAL com-EXIT-ivm-3apl--UPWARD=npt

ja ora jaw=i.
det TIME THAT=npt
'And (it is said) that they were different animals when they came up out that time.'

5. ja7-0 y-uj ja wego wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja yajni
   cl-3a 3e-relN det now pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det when

la-ch'ak-tik=i mi=ni=b'i june7 ma7 oj kan-0 libre=a.
inc-FINISH-laplin=npt neg=emp=rpt ONE rel fut STAY-3a FREE=clt
That's why they say that when we are destroyed, no one will be left.

6. a7nima=b'i la-och-0--k'e7en oj=ni=b'i
EVEN THOUGH=rpt inc-ENTER-2a--UPWARD fut=emp=rpt

ch'ak-uk-tik=a.
FINISH-laplin=clt
'Even though we might go into caves, (it is said) we will really be destroyed.'

7. ja najate7 0-ch'ak=b'i--pax-uk-e7 chante7il ja
det LONG AGO com-FINISH=rpt--BECOME-sbj-3apl ANIMAL det

kristiyano jumasa porke sok=b'i ja7 0-ch'ak-iy-e7.
PEOPLE ALL because with=rpt WATER com-FINISH-ivm-3apl
Long ago (it is said) all the people became animals because (it is said) they were destroyed by water.

8. ja7-0 y-uj mi 0-ch'ak-iy-e7 jun tiro y-uj
cl-3a 3e-relN neg com-FINISH-ivm-3apl ONE LOTS 3e-relN

ja ja7=i.
det WATER=npt
For this reason they weren't all finished by the water.

9. ay-0=to=b'i b'a wa-x-y-a7-0--kan xe7n takin.
BE-3a=still=rpt loc pro-inc-3e-MAKE-3a--STAY PIECE DRY
'(It is said) there were pieces that stayed dry.'

10. pero ja lame kristiyano wego oj=b'i ch'ak-0
but det GENERATION PEOPLE now fut=rpt FINISH-3a

spetzanil porke sok=xa=b'i k'ak' oj ch'ak-uk-0
EVERYONE because with=now=rpt FIRE fut FINISH-sbj-3a

ja satk'inal=i.
det WORLD=npt
'But the present creation (it is said) will all be destroyed because next the world will be destroyed with fire.'

11. wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiyano jumasa ja
pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE ALL det

wego ke ja kristiyano jumasa ja s-b'aj najate7
now rel det PEOPLE ALL det 3e-SELF LONG AGO

chikan jastal ja s-modo-e7=i jach=b'i
ACCORDING TO how det 3e-WAY-3pl=npt THUS=rpt

0-ch'ak--pax-uk-e7 ja jastal s-modo ja chante7 jumasa
com-FINISH--BECOME-sbj-3apl det how 3e-WAY det ANIMAL ALL

ja wego.
det now
'The people now say that all the people long ago, according to their ways, thus they all became like the ways of the animals.'

12. ja pagre ja s-b'aj najate7 komo lek=b'i
det PRIEST det 3e-SELF LONG AGO since GOOD=rpt

wa-x-s-je7-aw-0 s-b'aj pero malo ja jas
pro-inc-3e-SHOW-tvm-3a 3e-SELF but BAD det what

wa-x-s-k'ulan-0 ja7-0 y-uj pa7ay=b'i 0-pax-iy-0.
pro-inc-3e-DO-3a cl-3a 3e-relN FOX=rpt com-BECOME-ivm-3a
'The priests long ago, since they showed themselves as good but what they did was bad, for this reason they became foxes.'

13. ja=xa ma7 jel manyoso tan chich=b'i 0-pax-iy-0
det=now rel VERY TRICKY DAMN RABBIT=rpt com-BECOME-ivm-3a

porke ja chich=i jel manyoso.
because det RABBIT=npt VERY TRICKY
'And as for he who was very tricky, (it is said) he became a damn rabbit, because rabbits are very tricky.'

14. mi x-yam-j-iy-0 wego y-uj ja tz'i=i.
neg inc-GRAB-pas-ivm-3a QUICKLY 3e-relN det DOG=npt
'He isn't caught easily by the dogs.'

...

18. pwes wa-x=cha=y-al-aw-0-e7 ja wego ja yajni
well pro-inc=rep=3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det now det when

x-ch'ak-0 ja lame kristiyano it=i ta ay-0=k'a
inc-FINISH-3a det GENERATION PEOPLE THIS=npt if BE-3a=con

ma7 wa-x-och-0 k'e7en oj=ni=b'i ch'ak-uk-0=a
rel pro-inc-ENTER-3a CAVE fut=emp=rpt FINISH-sbj-3a=clt

porke mas=b'i jel yaj jun tiro oj jak-uk-0
because MORE=rpt VERY PAIN ONE LOTS fut ARRIVE-svj-3a

ja kastigo ja wego.
det PUNISHMENT det NOW
Well they also say now that when this creation is destroyed, if there are any who enter in caves, they'll be really destroyed, because (it is said) that the punishment will arrive with a lot of suffering this time.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
a	absolutive
clt	clause terminal
com	completive aspect
det	determiner
dim	dimunitive
dub	dubitative
emp	emphatic
e	ergative
fut	future
in	inclusive
inc	incompletive aspect
ivm	intransitive verb marker
loc	locative
npt	noun phrase terminal
pas	passive
pl	plural
pro	progressive
relN	relational noun
rel	relative
rep	repetitive
rpt	reportative
sbj	subjunctive
tvm	transitive verb marker
/	fronted clause boundary
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
--	compound

NOTES

1. The orthography used is a practical transcription, where x represents /s/, ch represents /c/, j represents /h/, tz represents /ɸ/, and 7 represents glottal stop. ay-0 kristiano in this example is a fronted clause, as indicated by the /.

2. The clause terminal =a also marks the end of clauses of temporal sequence beginning with ti 'then'. See (13) for an example.

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